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THE GREAT MACE,

AND OTHER

CORPORATION INSIGNIA

OF THE

BOROUGH OF LEICESTER.

BY

WILLIAM KELLY, F.R.H.S.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION.

1875.

Borough of Leicester

1875

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J. R. Planché Esq. R. S. A.
with the kind regards of the Author
William Kelly

THE
GREAT MACE OF LEICESTER.

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THE GREAT MACE,

AND OTHER

CORPORATION INSIGNIA

OF THE

BOROUGH OF LEICESTER.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
LONDON, FEBRUARY, 16TH, 1874.

BY

WILLIAM KELLY, F.R.H.S.

*Author of Notices illustrative of the Drama, &c. in the 16th and 17th
Centuries ; Ancient Records of Leicester ; Royal Progresses to
Leicester ; A History of Freemasonry in Leicestershire, &c.*

“ Poms, without guilt, of bloodless swords and maces ;
Gold chains, warm furs, broad banners and broad faces.”

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION.

1875.

*Gough Add! Leicester
p. 24.*



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THE GREAT MACE, AND OTHER CORPORATION INSIGNIA OF THE BOROUGH OF LEICESTER.

THE custom of distinguishing men occupying positions of power as chiefs or rulers of the people by some outward symbol of authority, such as the mace or the sceptre (terms indeed often used as synonymous*), denoting the dignity of their office, is one undoubtedly of very great antiquity, both amongst savages in all ages, like the aborigines of Australia and New Zealand, and from the times of the polished ancient Greeks and Romans down to our own day.

The club or mace, formed originally of hard wood, and the latter, subsequently either wholly or in part of metal, would naturally be adopted as one of the earliest weapons of primitive man, but it soon came to be regarded as a symbol of authority.

We learn that maces were in common use in warfare amongst the ancient Greeks, the name (*κορυννη*) being derived from the little horns or spikes by which the head was surrounded, it being thus the prototype of the "morning star" of Scandinavia; and it may be mentioned incidentally that on the font at Wandsford Church, Northamptonshire, of about the reign of William Rufus, are sculptured two warriors fighting, bearing shields, one of whom is armed with the mace and the other with that singular weapon consisting of a staff to which is attached by a chain an iron ball covered with spikes; and it may be remembered that one of the giants in the Guildhall, London, is thus armed.

* The most ancient mace of the Lord Mayor of London is termed the "sceptre."

Many ancient Græco-Roman mace-heads have been frequently dug up in Italy, several of which are in the British Museum.

As Plutarch informs us, Periphetes, slain by Theseus, was named "Corynetes," or the "Mace-bearer," and that weapon was adopted by Theseus, which, we are told became in his hands irresistible ; and Homer gives the same appellation to Areithous. Indeed, Dr. Clarke has derived the origin of the Corporation mace from the ancient Greeks. He says that "the sceptre of Agamemnon was preserved by the Chæro-neans, *and seems to have been used among them after the manner of a mace in corporate towns*, for Pausanias relates that it was not kept in any temple appropriated for its reception, but was annually brought forth with proper ceremonies, and honoured by daily sacrifices, and a sort of mayor's feast seems to have been provided on the occasion."*

Although during a prolonged but unknown period down to the present day it has been customary on all occasions of state processions at Rome for mace-bearers with silver maces to be in close attendance upon the Pope, the origin of the mace-bearers of our corporate towns is, however, rather to be sought in a warlike than a religious source.

In the Middle Ages the mace was a common weapon with ecclesiastics, who, in consequence of their tenures, frequently took the field, but were, by a canon of the Church, forbidden to wield the sword.† It strikes me as not improbable that in this custom we have the origin of the use of the mace as a symbol of authority by our cathedral and other ancient religious bodies. Odo, Bishop of Bayeaux, at the battle of Hastings, was a noted instance of the use of the mace as a weapon by an ecclesiastic, as described in the "Roman de Rou," by Master Wace.

In all probability its use by lay corporations may be traced to the corps of sergeants-at-mace, instituted as a body-guard

* Fosbroke's "Encyclopædia of Antiquities."

† See M. Le Grand's "Fabliaux of the xii. and xiii. Centuries," by Way and Ellis, i., p. 190.

both by Philip Augustus of France and our own Richard I., whilst with the Crusaders in Palestine.

We learn that when the former monarch was in the Holy Land he found it necessary to secure his person from the emissaries of a sheik, called "the Old Man of the Mountain," who bound themselves to assassinate whomsoever he assigned. "When the king," says an ancient chronicler, "heard of this he began to reflect seriously, and took counsel how he might best guard his person. He therefore instituted a guard of *serjeants-à-maces* who night and day were to be about his person in order to protect him." These *sergens-à-maces* were "afterwards called sergeants-at-arms, for Jean Bouteiller (*Somme Rurale*, lib. ii.), who lived in the time of Charles VI., that is, at the conclusion of the fourteenth century, tells us, 'The *sergens d'armes* are the mace-bearers that the king has to perform his duty, and who carry maces before the king; these are called sergeants-at-arms, because they are sergeants for the king's body.' " *

We learn further that Richard I. of England soon imitated the conduct of the French king, but he seems to have given his corps of sergeants-at-arms a more extensive power. Not only were they to watch round the king's tent in complete armour, with a mace, a sword, a bow and arrows, but were occasionally to arrest traitors and other offenders about the court, *for which the mace was deemed a sufficient authority*; hence they came to be denominated "the valorous force of the king's errand in the execution of justice." †

As regards the costume of these important officials, we find that according to the orders given by Thomas of Lancaster, constable at the siege of Caen, September 3rd, 1417, a sergeant-at-arms was to appear in the king's presence with his head bare, his body armed to the feet, with the arms of a knight riding (*i.e.*, with armour such as used by knights when they fought on horseback), wearing a gold chain, with a medal bearing all the king's coats (*i.e.*, armorial bearings quartered),

* Meyrick's "Antient Armour," i., p. 88.

† *Ibid.*, p. 89.

with a peon royal, *or mace of silver*, in his right hand, and in his left a truncheon.

Hence, in all probability, was derived the custom of the chief magistrate of a municipality, who, as such, is the representative of the sovereign, being attended by his mace-bearer, as a symbol of the roya authority thus delegated to him.

We hear of the mace of the Lord Mayor of London being in use in the early part of the fourteenth century, but at what period the custom was first introduced into Leicester—also one of the most ancient of our boroughs—is unknown, as, unfortunately, none of our local records now remaining (although some of them are as early as the reign of Richard I.) throw any light on this subject; however, as will be seen hereafter, entries of payments to the mace-bearer, or mayor's sergeant, occur early in the fourteenth century. We find, that as early as the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth two maces at least were then in use here, as they had been doubtless long before. We learn this on the authority of the parchment roll of the town accounts for the year 1517, being the first of the series of the chamberlains' accounts now in the muniment-room at the Guildhall,* which contains the following entries:—

“Item, for mendyng of the Maase xxij^d”

Item, for mendyng of the brason Mase iijja.”

Up to the passing of the Municipal Corporations Reform Act in 1835, in addition to the “Great Mace,” or the “Mayor's Mace,” as it was indifferently termed, and which was of silver-gilt, four other maces, known as the “Silver Maces,” or the “Lesser Maces,” were also part of the corporation insignia; and which, if not coeval in their introduction with the

* The earliest part of this ancient building belonged to the religious guild of Corpus Christi. It contains the minstrels' gallery, and there is strong circumstantial evidence of Shakspeare and Burbage having performed in it with the company of players of which they were members. The hooks and pulley to which the curtain was attached still remain.

"Mayor's Mace," were evidently in use at an earlier period than our local records now enable us to decide, as in the account for the year 1531 appears a charge of six shillings and eightpence for renovating "y^e iiij mases of syluer."

There was also "paede ffor mendyng Mr. Maeires mase ij^s," and "Item, paede for mendyng of y^e nyghtt mase ij^d," the latter doubtless being identical with the "brazon (or copper) mace" before-mentioned, and which in all probability was used when the mayor was called upon at night to exercise his magisterial authority in "setting the watch," or in quelling disturbances of the public peace, as not infrequently occurred; on many of which latter occasions the 'night-mace' doubtless reverted to its pristine use as a weapon, and, like the constable's staff of the modern policeman, has often been vigorously wielded by its bearer in upholding the insulted majesty of the law.

The office of mace-bearer, or, as it was originally termed, "mayor's sergeant," and also those of the other sergeants-at-mace (although, like the symbols which they bore, there is no record remaining of when they were first instituted), were evidently of great antiquity in this borough, and in the Middle Ages were regarded as being of far higher importance than they came to be esteemed in modern times.

Instances are to be met with in our records in which the mace-bearer has the designation "Gentleman" (*generosus*) appended to his name, and his office was at a former period deemed of at least equal importance with that of the Town Clerk (or, as that officer was at first termed, the "Mayor's Clerk"), if we may judge from the fact that in early times they were each paid the same salary, and at a somewhat later date the salary of the Mayor's sergeant was double that of his clerk.

The rolls of the town accounts contain various particulars on these points. Thus from the account for the year 1318 we learn that half a mark each was paid as the salary of "Hugh, the Town Serjeant," and of the Clerk, the whole of the year's expenditure being £31 11s. 5d. (as against upwards

of. £100,000 a year at the present time); and the same annual sum of six shillings and eightpence continued to be paid to those officers for many years, until in the third year of King Richard II. (October 9th, 1379) new ordinances were adopted "with the unanimous consent of the whole community of the town," by which 40s. a year became payable to the Mayor's Sergeant as his wages, and 20s. a year to the Mayor's Clerk, who was also to attend upon the chamberlains for the time being.

In the mayoralty of John le Mawre (or Marew), in the 11th year of Edward II. (1317-18), William of Holegate was amerced in a heavy fine *for cursing and contemptuously treating the "common serjeants"* during a disturbance which took place in the town respecting taxation, on which occasion a man called "the Mustarder" was also charged with having abused and cursed the tax-collectors *before the people in the High-street.**

This entry proves that as far back as five centuries and a half ago there were several (doubtless five) sergeants-at-mace appointed by the municipal authorities of this town, and who, we may conclude, were bearers of the "Great Mace" and the four "Lesser Maces" as the symbols of their authority as the Mayor's officers, as they continued to be down to the year 1836.

Mr. John S. Burn has communicated to *Notes and Queries* (3rd S., x., p. 403) some curious particulars from two Star Chamber cases in which the mace is prominently noticed and which illustrate also the authority with which its bearer was held to be invested :—

"In the 2nd Eliz. Sir John Guildford sued White for a riot in getting possession of Padiham Marsh, and for a contempt for the Mayor of Winchelsea and his officer, *bearing the mace* White was fined twenty nobles 'for renewing or making greater of a new mace.'

"The other case was in the 2nd Hen. VIII., in which some

* Thompson's History of Leicester, p. 102.

sergeants-at-mace were censured as rioters for entering into a chamber of a tavern in London and drawing their swords *before they showed their mace.*"

As regards the number of sergeants-at-mace in Leicester, there appears no reason to doubt that when the town came to be regularly incorporated, the same officials would be re-appointed by royal charter as had previously existed by prescriptive right. Thus among the officers enumerated in the second charter of incorporation granted by Queen Elizabeth in June, 1599, are *five sergeants-at-mace*, whose duties were to execute all proclamations, precepts, processes, and other business to them pertaining, to be attendant upon the mayor and bailiffs, *and to carry maces of gold or silver before the mayor.*

In the chamberlain's account for the year 1551-2 we have the following entries:—

- "Item, p^d to John Wryght for payntyng in Mr. Meres [Mayor's] chappell for the Mace xij^d.
 "Item, p^d to Robert Hore for an yorne [iron] to hang the mace in ther iij^d."

These supply one of many illustrations of the time-honoured custom of the Mayor and Corporation, under the old *régime*, attending divine service on Sundays in state, in their robes, accompanied, of course, by the mace-bearers, and numerous orders and regulations were made both before, and especially during the Puritan times, for the compulsory attendance of the whole of the inhabitants "at the sermons," both at the Sunday and the week-day services. The Mayor's Chapel here referred to was doubtless St. George's Chapel, in St. Martin's Church, adjoining the Guildhall, which before the Reformation had been appropriated to St. George's Guild, with which fraternity the Mayor and Corporation were closely connected. The chapel contained a figure of the saint on horseback, "armed in complete steel," and what has been described by our local historian, Throsby, as "the grandest solemnity of the town" was the annual festival of the *Riding of the George*, described

in a document of 1523 as "the old ancient custom ;" the procession through the streets being accompanied by the Mayor and Corporation in state, with the maces displayed, and not infrequently by the Earl of Huntingdon and other magnates of the county. A full description of this and of other local pageants will be found in my *Notices illustrative of the Drama, &c., in Leicester*.*

Among various charges for repairing the mace which occur in the accounts under various years, we find one in 1560, "for mending and gylding the great mace, with mending the new headdes of the Chamblyns stauers, xxiiij^s. viij^d," the latter being of silver, in the form of the cinquefoil, the town badge.

A quarter of a century later, owing, it is to be presumed, to the greatly increased importance of the Corporation, it was thought desirable that a new mace should be provided, and in the account for the year 1584-5 we meet with the following entries as to its purchase :—

"Item, paid to Mr. Nicholas Heyricke of London, Goldsmith, for a new mace of sylver, all gilte, wayinge xliij ounces and a half at viij^s. vj^d the ounce, the sylver, makeinge, & gyldinge comes to xviiij^{li}. j^s. iiij^d. ; ffor gravinge the armes therein xxx^s. & for a case for it v^s. Soe all the wholl comes to xix^{li}. xvj^s. iiij^d. , whereof deducked, geven by the said Nichas Heyrick, xl^s.

"The some payed is..... xvij^{li}. xvj^s. iiij^d."

The Nicholas Heyrick here referred to was an eminent banker and goldsmith, in Cheapside, London, a native of Leicester, and an elder brother of Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Herrick, who after being Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to Turkey was the principal jeweller to King James the First, a Teller of the Exchequer, and member of Parliament for his native town, who was the ancestor of the respected Mr. William Perry-Herrick, the present possessor of Beaumanor Park, and which beautiful and formerly royal domain he has inherited by lineal descent from Sir William, whose

* Published by J. Russell Smith, London, 1865.

portrait may still be seen in the Mayor's parlour at the Town Hall.*

At that time another of the brothers, Alderman Robert Heyricke† was Mayor of Leicester, and we have the following recorded among the proceedings at a Common Hall, under his presidency, held on the 19th January, 1585 :—

“Item. Att this Coēn Hall the newe Mace shoed and order taken for the payment therof as followeth :

“Item, yt ys agreed that neyther the salt nor the old Mace shalbe solde for the paymente of the newe Mace, but shalbe paid for as followeth, vicz. The xxiiij^{li}.—iijs^s iiij^d. a peece. The xlvij^{li}.—xx^d. a peece: And the residue that shalbe lackinge to be paid on the Towne Stocke. This agreed upon by the greater parte of the Hall.”

At the same time with the Mace new silver tops were purchased for the Chamberlains' staves at a cost of 30s. “besides the olde sylver,” and 18s. 5d. paid for two “squitchins” (escutcheons) for the Waits boys, and a badge or cinquefoil for the beadle, more than the silver of the old cinquefoil came to.

By immemorial custom the dignity of the mayoralty was in part sustained by a company of minstrels, known from their first appearance in the town accounts, down to their final dismissal at the end of 1835, as “the Town Waits.” Like the sergeants-at-mace, no record remains of their first appointment here, but it is not improbable that they might have existed since the days when our great Earl, John of Gaunt, the great patron of the minstrels' art, held his court in royal state in his

* A valuable series of Sir William Herrick's MSS. as a Teller of the Exchequer, &c., arranged and bound in volumes under the superintendence of the late Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., and also original letters of “rare old Herrick, the Cavalier Poet,” chiefly asking for loans of money, are preserved at Beaumanor.

† His portrait also hangs in the Mayor's parlour at the Town Hall, and has the following quaint lines painted on the canvas :—

“His picture whom you here see,
When he is dead and rotten,
By this shall remembered be
When he shall be forgotten.”

castle of Leicester, for as early as the year 1308 his predecessor Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and Leicester, had his company of minstrels.*

The Town Waits were to be in attendance on the Mayor on all state occasions, as proclaiming the May-day and other fairs, and at the mayor's feast they occupied the minstrels' gallery in the Guildhall; they were also to play daily in the town, both night and morning, besides other duties which are fully described in my work on the Drama, &c., in Leicester, already referred to.

As early as the year 1314, "Hugh the Trumpeter," a retainer of the earl, was made free of the Merchant Guild; in 1481 the name of Henry Howman, who is described as a harper, appears on the roll; whilst in 1499, Thomas Wyllkyns, "*Wayte*," was admitted into the guild.

The number of the town waits was originally and for a considerable time limited to three, afterwards increased to five, and subsequently a sixth was added. They were each provided, sometimes annually, at other times biennially, with a scarlet gown or cloak, edged with silver lace, for which at a later period gold lace was substituted; and they were suspended round their neck by a chain of the same metal, a large silver escutcheon or badge of the town arms, the cinquefoil, which was also embroidered on the sleeves of their gowns.

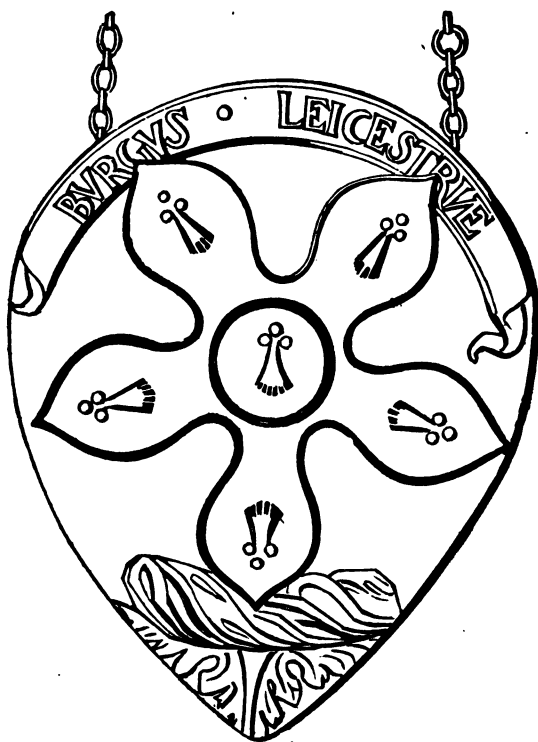
In the account for the year 1524 there is a charge for sixteen shillings for "liveries" for the waits, and similar entries (with, of course, from time to time, a proportionate increase in the amount) are of constant recurrence down to the Commonwealth, when for a time they disappear, to be resumed after the Restoration.

The first entry I have met with respecting these silver badges as a part of the corporation insignia is an incidental one in the earliest of the hall books (p. 81). This is a "memorandum" (in Latin, with many contractions):—"That on the 13th January, 18th Henry VIII. (1503), William Ffrysley,

* Lansdown MSS., No. 1.

Mayor of the town of Leicester, received of John Clement (late Chamberlain) four collars of silver, weighing twenty-three ounces of troy weight, which the said Mayor afterwards delivered to John Hawes and William Brown, the now Chamberlains of the said town."

One of these silver badges (now in the Leicester Town Museum), is shown in the accompanying woodcut; for which I am indebted to the kindness of my friend, Llewellyn Jewitt, Esq., F.S.A.



The following charge appears in the account for 1541 :—

"Item, paed to Thomas Goldsmith ffor mendyng of the } liij iiij^d.
Town Waytes Collars }

In the roll for the year 1576-7 the following entry occurs :—

“ Item, paid to Dodd the Goldsmith for xv^{ten} ounces of
 silver for the weytes Collars, and for mendinge or } vⁱⁱ. x .”
 making of them new }

—showing that they must then have been in use for some considerable time.

As shown by the entry before quoted in connection with the purchase of the new mace, the town waits had boys under them, who according to an order of Common Hall, in 1583, were also provided with gowns, and “scutchens or cinquefoils” were ordered to be made for them, to be worn with green ribbons or laces about their necks, scarlet and green being the town colours.

To return, however, to the chief subject of our inquiries, the Great Mace.

We have seen that on the foregoing occasion, whilst providing a new Great Mace the old mace was still retained, and in the account for the year 1593 we have an entry of 13s. 4d. “paid to John Woodward, goldsmith, for mending and gilding the *old mace*.” He was also paid sixteen shillings for “making (or rather *renovating*) and gilding two of the *lesser maces*; fifteen shillings for three ounces and a-half of old silver to make the said two maces stronger; and three shillings and sixpence for “flyers” for the said two maces which were wanting.

Again, in the account for 1601 we have the following entry :—

“ Item, p^d to the Goldsmith for mendinge the ways } xiiij^s. iiij^d. ”
 Collors, or chaynes, and the *olde Town Mace* . . . }

In the year 1605 the same expense was incurred “for mending and gilding of the Great Mace.”

Reference has previously been made to the comparatively high estimation in which the office of mace-bearer or mayor's sergeant was held, the salary of it having been equal to and subsequently double that of the town clerk. This was from time to time further augmented by the addition of various

fees and other emoluments. Thus at a Common Hall held on the Friday nearest the feast of St. Clement the Pope, 2nd Henry VIII. (November, 1510), it was enacted that from henceforth the mayor's sergeant should have of every prisoner committed to the Hall for a fray 4d., and of every prisoner so committed for any other trespass 1d., in nature of a fee to mend his wages, &c. (Hall Book, p. 104). On the 13th March, 1583, it was ordered and agreed at a Common Hall that the clerk and mace bearer should each have his office by patent, to be prepared and considered by the Recorder.

Again, under date of November 24th, 1587, we find the following recorded :—

“ Mayors S^rgiants ffee Aucmented.

“ Item, yt ys also ordered and agreed that from henceforth all suche as bee made of the companye of the Eight-and-ffortie shall give to the Mace Bearer ij^d a peece; and eu^ry Townesman sworne to the freedom of the Towne of Leicestr ij^d a peece; and everye straunger iiij^d a peece; and so likewyse of all such as be admitted to the ffellowshippe of anye [of] the Occupacons of the said Town of Leicestr.”

It would appear that it was anciently the custom for the mace-bearer to reside with the mayor for the time being, not at the Mansion House, for Leicester never possessed one, but at his private residence, for at a much later period an annual sum of £40 was granted to the mace-bearer by Order of Hall, “in lieu of boarding with the Mayor.”

In December, 1599, the office being vacant by the decease of John Underwood, its former occupant, Clement Charde, *gentleman*, was elected, “placed and sworn to be the chief mace-bearer to Mr. Maior.”

On St. Matthew's Day, in the following year, we have—

“ Servient.ad } Clement Charde, Johēs. Browne, Willms. Payne,
Clavam } Petrus Perkin, et Johēs. Clarke,—Jur.”

Six years after the appointment of this Clement Charde as mace-bearer the office again became vacant by his death, and we find the following proceedings consequent thereon recorded

in the hall book, and which are here quoted *in extensis*, as they will suffice to afford all the information which is requisite as to the position and duties of this office :—

“Sayturdaye the xiiijth daie of Decembr (1605) a meeting of the Maior and Aldermen of the Borough of Leic. this present saturdaye att after Noone, aboute the choyce and election of a Macebearer, for, and in steede of Clement Charde, gent. (the late Macebearer) whom it hath pleased God to take to his mercie this daye in the ffoure Noone.” (Here follow the names of those present.) “By all theise and with full and free voyces was Richard Beswicke of the Borowe of Leic. gent., chosen to bee the Macebearer to the Maior of this Borowe of Leic. and his successors for and during his naturall life, and upon his good and honeste behavior and dilligent attendance in and uppon his Office, and true dealing therein.”

“There is firste to [be] mynistered to him the othe of supremacie, and afterwards this othe, viz. :

“Yowe shall not use nor exercise the Office of Chief S'giant att Mace or Mace bearer of this Borough of Leic. (to the which Office you are now chosen) corruptlie during the tyme thereof; but the same office shall trulie, honestlie, and faithfullie execute and do in all things thereunto appertaininge and accordinge to yo^r best skill and knowledge duringe the time thereof. Also you shall true and faithful officer bee to the Maior of this saide Borough of Leic^r. and to his successors Maiors of the said Bouroughe of Leic^r. for the time beinge, duringe the tyme thereof. The councell and secretts of this Borough of Leicestr you shall not utter or disclose to the hurte or preiudice thereof. You shalbee dilligent and readie of attendance at the Maior commaundem^t belonginge to yo^r said Office.

“So helpe you God.

“Die et Anno supradict.

“M^d that Henrie Palmer, of the said Borough of Leic^r. Notori Publicke, hath given his worde to Mr. Mayor to enter into bonde to the Corporacon of Leic. that the said Mace bearer shall justly and truely answare and paye to the Chamblyns. of the Borowe of Leic^r. all suche sommes of money as he, the said Mace bearer, by reason of his Office, shall att anye tyme hereafter collect, receyve and gayther uppe for the use of the said Corporacon.”

A few months later it was “agreed that Mr. Maior his Mace

bearer shall have now p'sentlie a gown given him at the Townes charges, and so everie thirde yeare afterwards a Lyveree Gown att the Townes charge."

This was in continuance of an old custom, and the mace-bearer, and also the other sergeants-at-mace, continued to wear a black gown on all public occasions, until the final disestablishment of their offices at the end of 1835.

Turning, however, from the bearer of the "shining bauble," let us resume our notices of the history of the mace itself, and of the other insignia, and in so doing reference must be made to several royal visits to Leicester, in which the great mace was made to play a prominent part.

James the First making one of his frequent progresses into the midland counties in the year 1612, and Leicester being one of the towns included in the "Gests," great preparations were made by the authorities and the inhabitants of the town for his Majesty's reception, which was fixed to take place on Wednesday, the 19th of August. Among other orders made by the Corporation at a common hall was one that such of the four-and-twenty (*i. e.* the aldermen) as had been mayors should provide themselves to ride in *scarlet gowns*, with horse and foot cloths, to meet and attend the king into Leicester, under a forfeit of £10, and the rest of the four-and-twenty, and the eight-and-forty (*i. e.* the common councillors) were to provide themselves with black gowns, under a penalty of £5.

It is not to be supposed that these distinctive marks of the several ranks or degrees in our municipal parliament were now adopted for the first time; it was far otherwise, as, indeed, like the use of the mace, we have no trace in our records of when the practice first originated.

During Queen Elizabeth's reign, when, on two or three occasions, her Majesty was expected to visit the town, similar orders had been made for her reception, and it is also clearly evinced that in her predecessor's reign the wearing of scarlet robes on state occasions by the mayor for the time being, and those who had served that office, was even then well known to have been *an ancient custom in the town*.

In Queen Mary's reign, from what precise cause we know not, whether from a mere spirit of change or (as seems not improbable) from the expense which the purchase of these scarlet robes entailed upon the wearers, attempts had been made to evade their use, and some unruly members of the municipal body had raised so strong an opposition to them that we find the Lord Chancellor, the celebrated Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and formerly Archdeacon of Leicester,* on the 8th January, 1555, addressing a letter or injunction on the subject to the mayor and his brethren, which is inscribed in the "Town Book of Acts." In this curious document he writes :—

"After commendacons, I understand by advertysements from your towne that dyverse of you beyng rather desyerous of new-fangleness than contentyd to follow suche auneynt and laudable customes as haue had, tyme out of mynde, their contynuaunce withe you have of late sought meanes to breke and abolshe suche thereof, whereby your commonwelthe ys most countenanced and set forthe. Wher uppon I thought yt mete to requere so many of you as be thus fondly affected, that levyng of suche vayne fances, ye woll henseforth remayne quyet and contentyd to follow and allowe suche laudable customes and rewles *as haue alwayes ben, tyme out of mynde, usyd amongst you.* Thus fare you well.

"At my house in London, this viijth of January, [1555],

"Your loving frende,

[STEPHEN WINTON.]

That this communication related especially to the attempts to abolish the use of these scarlet robes, is more explicitly shown in the following letter from Sir Robert Rochester, the Comptroller of the Queen's Household, a transcript of which follows that of the Lord Chancellor in the "Town Book of Acts."

"To his lovinge frends the Mayre of the Kyng and Quene's Majesties' town of Leycester and his brethren, gyve this.

"After my hërty comendacons, because your towne ys within

* He was installed as archdeacon on the 31st March, 1531.

myne office, havinge a wyll, therefore, to do you good, as I have declared vnto this berer my mynde at large ; therefore I thought good to gyve you myne advyce, that ys, that you the Mayre and brethren of that towne sholde use and kepe all your good and laudable customes, such as in tymes past ye haue ben wont to do *bothe in apparell and otherwyse*, in doynge wherof ye shall keepe all things in good staye, to your own comodyties and also gyve occasyon, to reporte your good doyngs from tyme to tyme, as occasyon shall serve to your comfort, and so byd you hartely fare well. From the Court the xix of January [1555].

“ Your lovinge friend,

“ ROBERT ROCHESTER.”

The effect produced here by these letters is to be seen in the record of the Common Hall, held on the following 8th of March, when it was “enacted, established, and agreed” by the Mayor and the two companies of the “four-and-twenty,” and the “eight-and-forty,” perpetually to endure for and in the name of the whole body of the same town, that from henceforth all and every person that shall be elected and chosen to execute the office of the Mayoralty within the said town of Leicester, at every principal feast and other times accustomed, shall wear, for the honour of the King and Queen’s Majesty, and their successors, and for the worship of the same town, scarlet, *as of ancient time it hath been accustomed*, upon payne of every person so chosen to the said office of Mayoralty, refusing the wearing of the said scarlet during his said time of mayoralty, to forfeit and pay to the chamber of the town of Leicester, five pounds,”* which penalty, by an order made in 1576, was increased to £10.†

And by an order made on the 24th November, 1588, reciting one made ten years earlier (which specifies the various feast days on which it was customary for the mayor and his brethren to wear their scarlet robes), it was agreed that they should, in addition, wear their scarlet gowns on

* Town Book of Acts, p. 37.

† Hall Book, p. 272.

the Queen's Majesty's day, to the sermon, and also at the Assizes, to meet the judges; which latter custom continued in use up to the end of 1835.

To return, however, to the great mace, and to the preparations for the coming of James the First.

The royal visitors (Prince Henry accompanied the king) arrived at Leicester on the 18th August, a day earlier than had been named in the "Gests," when the Mayor and the two Companies, arrayed in the costumes before described, met at the Town Hall, and went in procession, two and two, to the foot of St. Sunday's Bridge (now the North Bridge), between which and "Frogmire Bridge"* they received the king and prince into Leicester. The mayor, on his knee, presented the mace, the symbol of his delegated authority, to the king, who graciously delivered it to him again.

A Latin oration having been delivered by Mr. Wincoll, "the Town's Councillor," in the absence of Sir Augustine Nichols, the Recorder, and the town's present, consisting of two silver and gilt standing cups, with covers, purchased at a cost respectively of £20 15s. 1d., and £13 4s. 1d., having been handed to his Majesty and the prince, we learn that "the Mayor, having mounted his horse, and being still bare-headed, carried the town mace before the king—the Earl of Huntingdon, as Lord Lieutenant of the county, carrying the sword immediately before his Majesty, and the mayor preceding him, accompanied by the king's gentlemen ushers, bearing his Majesty's two great maces." In this manner the king and prince were conducted until the procession arrived at the court gates of Lord's Place, the Earl of Huntingdon's mansion, in the Highcross Street (now High Street), when the Mayor and Corporation took leave.

It should be mentioned that, to do all honour to the royal visitors, in addition to the purchase of the two cups to be presented to them, as was customary on such occasions, the great

* That part of the town lying between these two bridges is still known as Frog Island."

mace had previously been sent to London to be regilt and burnished, and to have the head engraved and ornamented with the king's arms "of new" upon it, one of the chamberlains having been sent to London in charge of it; he was absent ten days, his bill of expenses for the journey amounting to 38s.

It may be noticed incidentally that James I. paid two subsequent visits to Leicester, the gests of which are preserved among the Hall papers, but as no detailed particulars connected with the subject now under consideration are recorded, we pass on to the summer of 1634, when the great mace was again regilt in honour of a visit made to the town by Charles I. and his queen.

These royal progresses came to be looked upon as a heavy tax upon the people, entailing as they did a considerable amount of expenditure upon the inhabitants of the various towns included in the gests, and of which fact the records of this town afford numerous examples. On this occasion, in order to procure the necessary funds "for painting and beautifying the four gates, with the king's arms upon them, as formerly they have been," "*for amending and gilding the town's great mace,*" the payment of the customary numerous fees to the royal attendants (which are enumerated), and other expenses incidental to "their Highnesses' entertainment," it was resolved to raise by taxation the sum of £30 among the company of the four-and-twenty, the like sum from the eight-and-forty, and amongst the commoners and inhabitants £40 at the least, the residue of the charge being paid by the chamberlains out of the town purse.

Among various orders made at several meetings of the Corporation, similar in character to those preceding royal visits, in the last reign, it was agreed that all the members of that body, under a penalty of £10 or £5, according to rank, should attend at the Guildhall at one o'clock on the 9th of August, to accompany the mayor to receive their Majesties at their coming into Leicester. Such of the four-and-twenty as had been mayor were required to appear in their scarlet

gowns and tippets, and the rest of that company "with fair decent gowns and suits ;" and the eight-and-forty in "black suits, black gowns, and ruff bands."

As in the first of King James's visits, Charles and his consort were received by the Mayor and Corporation "between the bridges," and escorted to "the King's House," but the details of the ceremony are not recorded.

On this occasion the gifts presented to their Majesties consisted respectively of two silver and gilt bowls, weighing 133 ounces, which were presented to the king, and a basin and ewer of silver and gilt, adorned with the king's arms, and weighing 127 ounces, given to the queen; at a total cost of about £100. This royal progress cost the Corporation in the whole between £300 and £400, probably equal to £1,500 of our money, besides the expense it entailed upon individuals.

The day after their Majestie's arrival, being Sunday the 10th of August, the King attended divine service in St. Martin's Church, and we learn from the churchwardens' accounts of the parish that among numerous preparations made for his state reception, the seats of the Mayor's brethren were removed, the King, doubtless, occupying as his "throne" the seat of dignity usually appropriated to the Mayor (of which we shall have to say more hereafter), the great mace being suspended in its usual place above it, whilst a payment was made "for flowers for the king's cushion."

The subsequent visits of King Charles to Leicester took place after the outbreak of and in connection with the great civil war.

The first of these visits was on the 22nd July, 1641. The King having left Beverley, in Yorkshire, reached Nottingham the day preceding his arrival here, and we learn from the *Iter Carolinum* that this was known as "The Leicester Journey," several events of importance having occurred during his stay here; * but reference can now only be made to those proceedings

* These are more fully described in my "Royal Progresses to Leicester" (privately printed), and the whole subject has been most ably and

more immediately relating to the subject of our present inquiries.

The Borough MSS. record that the King entered the town by the North-bridge about six o'clock in the evening, accompanied by the Prince (afterwards Charles the Second), and his Highness the Prince Palsgrave of the Rhine.*

Between the bridges his Majesty was received with the usual formalities by the Mayor, by Mr. Thomas Coke, one of the Parliamentary representatives of the Borough, most of the Aldermen who had been Mayors in their scarlet gowns and tippets, and the other members of the Corporation in their robes.

A body of constables attended to clear the way for the procession, and the trainbands were also assembled as a guard of honour for the King's person. Here the Mayor, falling upon his knee, humbly presented the mace to the king, which his Majesty graciously accepting, took in his hand, and immediately restored it to the Mayor; whereupon, Mr. Coke, likewise kneeling, made a speech to the King, which we are informed "he earnestly listened unto, and did likewise most graciously accept of." This ceremony being ended, his Majesty caused a horse to be delivered to Mr. Mayor, who being mounted, and the members of the Corporation walking before, two and two, carried the mace before the King through the streets until the procession arrived at the court gate of "Lord's Place," in (the present) High Street, when having alighted, he, still bearing the mace, preceded the King into the

eloquently treated in the "History of Leicester during the great Civil War," by my late friend J. F. Hollings, Esq.

* It is probable that this was Prince Louis (who was usually thus designated), and who visited Leicester, and was entertained by the Corporation, on the 12th August, 1636. Prince Rupert was here with the royal forces on the 25th August, 1641, three days after the royal standard had been erected at Nottingham, and the Chamberlains' account for that year contains the following entry:—"Item, given to Prince Rupert, at his first coming to towne, one gallon of white wine, one pottle of clarett, one pottle of canarie, and one pound of sugar—ix^s. vjd."

presence-chamber, where, kissing his Majesty's hand, he departed for the night.

Although the town at the time was a stronghold of Puritanism, Clarendon says that "at Leicester the King was received with great expressions of duty and loyalty, . . . and full acclamations of the people," much of this, however, was probably mere lip-service ;—

" Mouth-honour, breath,
Which the poor heart would fain deny, but dare not."

Passing over the busy and important doings in which the King was engaged in the interim, on Saturday, "about the then urgent occasions of the time," as described by Clarendon, we find that, as on his previous visit, Charles attended divine service in state at St. Martin's Church, where, as we learn from the churchwardens' account, the floor was covered with fresh rushes, and strewn with flowers and sweet-scented herbs, and a throne for the King was set up in the church by Mr White, the Countess of Devonshire's* gentleman.

The manner of the King's passage to church is thus recorded in our MSS. :—

" Upon the Sabbath day, in the morning, his Majesty was pleased to go to St. Martin's Church to prayer and sermon, at which time Mr. Mayor, accompanied with all the rest of the Aldermen and Companies, apparelled as before, attended his Majesty, coming to the Court gate, from whence he was pleased to walk on foot through the streets by the High cross to church ; Mr. Mayor carrying the mace before his Majesty, and the Aldermen and the rest of the Companies walking before, in orderly manner two and two, the youngest first, with constables with them to make way for his Majesty's better passage to the church. Sermon being ended, they attended his Majesty in like manner back again to the Court gate, and so departed.†

The King had appointed to leave Leicester for Yorkshire

* This lady resided at Leicester Abbey, where Charles took up his quarters after the siege and capture of the town in 1645, and on his departure the royal troops set fire to and destroyed the building.

† Hall Papers.

on the following morning, and the Mayor and Corporation were to have been in attendance at the court on his departure, but the drowsy citizens were too late, so that the King received but scant courtesy on the occasion, neither Mayor nor Aldermen being at their post, but with which, says the record, "being formerly well pleased with the good service done by Mr. Mayor, his Majesty was not then displeased at."

The King and Prince Charles again came to Leicester from Nottingham, on Thursday, the 18th August in the same year, arriving about five o'clock in the evening, being well received with the usual presentation of the mace, and other formalities, and by the doubtless still more welcome presentation to the Prince of a handsome purse containing £50 in gold, which, we are told, "his Highness graciously accepted of;" after which "Mr. Mayor by his Majesty's appointment took horse (both the said Companies walking before)," and, carrying the mace, conducted his Majesty to his lodgings—doubtless the Earl of Huntingdon's mansion, Lord's Place.

The royal visitors quitted the town on the following morning for Coventry (where they found the city gates closed against them, and several of the royal attendants were shot by a discharge of musketry from the walls), and on this occasion, either through fear or loyalty, probably the former, our local authorities were careful not to be again too late in their attendance, for the Hall Papers record "that Mr. Maior attended on his Majestie, carrying the mace before him out of the presence-chamber to the Courtgate, where his Majestie and the prince taking horse, his Majestie gave Mr. Maior his hand to kisse, and so went onward his journey for Stonley Castle."

Thus repulsed in his design of entering Coventry, the king retired for the night to Stoneleigh Abbey, the residence of Sir Thomas Leigh; and two days later, leaving his forces, and with only a few lords and other attendants, his Majesty returned "very melancholy" to Leicester, and took up his quarters at the Abbey, the residence of the Countess of Devonshire. The king's presence having been entirely unexpected, the mayor and corporation were not in attendance to

escort him through the town, where he made no stay, but rode direct to the abbey, where he passed the night, and on the following day, Monday, the 22nd of August, 1642, "presently after dinner," the king again took horse, and with his retinue rode to Nottingham, where *on the same day* he set up his standard * in the midst of a violent commotion of the elements ; a sad presage of the then coming events.

During the visits of that unhappy monarch to his ancient city of Leicester he had always been received hitherto with at least all outward tokens of loyalty and respect, but passing over three years, during which the Civil War had been desolating the land, we come to the spring of 1645, and to a royal visit, probably the most fatal in its results to the town and its citizens of any which had taken place since that terrible day when it was sacked by the Norman conqueror, or when, a century later, it was again laid in ruins by the army of Henry the Second.

This memorable event in its annals took place on the 29th May, 1645, the royal army of about 10,000 men, with the king in person, and commanded by the fiery Prince Rupert, appeared before the town in hostile array ; and when after a violent cannonade and repeated assaults on the following day, and after the bravest of the royal forces in their attacks on the citizens had been thrice repulsed with great slaughter, in the "imminent deadly breach"—where women fought like men, and men like heroes—it was captured on the last day of May, after a house-to-house conflict through the streets, and the king, "on horseback in bright armour,"† rode through the town as its conqueror, and took up his residence once more at the abbey.

* Authorities differ as to the precise day on which this important historical event took place. The 22nd is here given on the authority of Rushworth. Clarendon, in one part of his "History of the Rebellion," names the 25th as the day, but he subsequently incidentally confirms the date given by Rushworth as correct. The point has been carefully considered in my "Royal Progresses to Leicester."

† As given in evidence at the king's trial, by Humphrey Browne, of Whissendine.

This lamentable event in its history is thus recorded in the Hall Book of the period :—

“ Memorandum—upon Saturday morninge in Whitson weeke, beinge the last daye of Maye, A° 1645, the King's Ma^{tie}, with his armye, did enter Leicester, and tooke it by storme, havinge layde seige before it three dayes before, at wth tyme the towne was much plundered, and *Mr. Maior's Mace, and diuers of the Towne Seales taken away by the unruly souldiers.*”

Only a few days after this brilliant success, this “ lightning before his ruin,” Charles passed through Leicester as a fugitive from the fatal field of Naseby !

Now, their ancient mace being taken away, what course did these staunch and zealous Puritans pursue ?—men who in defence of their opinions, and of the liberties of their country against the abuse of the royal prerogative, had not hesitated, at the peril of their lives, to appear in arms against and valiantly to oppose the forces of their king and his Majesty in person ? Did they look upon the mace as being merely a “ shining bauble,” to be cast aside and forgotten by them as a thing of no account ? Far from it. The very first record on their minutes of proceedings after the recapture of the town by the Parliamentary army under Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the departure of the royalist garrison, and a fruitless search having been made previously for the old mace,* is the following :—

“ Att a Cōmon Hall holden the 22th daye of August, Anno Dni. 1645 ; Anno R. Caroli, 21^o.

“ Att this Hall yt is ordered and agreed that a Newe Mace shalbe bought, about the size of the old Mace, & as neare to the price as conveniently maye be (the old mace beinge taken awaye att the takinge of the Towne by the King's Armye), the charge of the mace to be defrayed out of the Chamber of the Towne. And that two Chamberlaines Staues shalbe provided wth Silver and guilte bosses, ingraven wth the Towne Armes, accordinge, or, neare the ffashion of the fformer staues, att the discrecōn of the Chamberlins.

* Item paid, which was given to Mr. William Billars, Jun., by Mr. Maior his appointment for searching for the old Mace, vjs.—*Chamberlains' Account.*

"It is also agreed att the same Hall that a Cōmon Seale ffor the Corporacon, a Seale of Office, & the Maior's Seale, accordinge to the former Seales, lately vsed for the Towne, and taken awaye allsoe att the takinge of the Towne, shalbe provided att the Townes charge."

One Robert Bradshaw, painter, was remunerated "for drawing the form of the mace on paper," and such proofs of the great desire of those Puritan rulers to have the new insignia of the Borough as much like the former ones as possible, affords unmistakable evidence how greatly those had been prized for their long associations with the past history of the good old town. Accordingly a journey was made to London with this drawing of the old mace, and in the Chamberlains' Account for the year we have the following entries of the expense of providing the new insignia :—

"Item, p ^d for the New Mace, beinge Silver & gilt & weighing ounces at the ounce	} xxiiij ^{li} . vjs. vjd.
"Item, p ^d for the Iron within the Mace & a box to put ye Mace in	} ij ^s .
"Item, p ^d for the tipps for the Chamberlaines staves in silver	} xv ^s . vij ^d .
"Item, p ^d for the makeinge, graveinge & gildinge of them	} xv ^s .
"Item, p ^d for the twoe staves	xij ^s .
"Item, p ^d for two Seales, viz ^t the Cōmon Seale of brasse & the Maiors lesser Seale of Silver ...	} j ^{li} . vjs.
"Item, p ^d for horsehire to London to pvide the said Mace & other things before mentioned	} xvjs.
"Item, p ^d for horse meate then at London	j ^{li} . iij ^s .
"Item, laidd out for other expences that Journey for one monethes charges	} v ^{li} ."

It would appear that at this period several of the paid officers of the Corporation were staunch royalists, and as such holding political opinions opposed to those of the great majority of the members of that body, as is evinced by the following minutes of proceedings "at a meeting of the Mayor and his Brethren, May 22nd, 1646 :"—

"Thomas Weldon, Mace-bearer ffor the said Borough havinge of

late given occasion of offence both to the Governor and Committee for this Garrison, and for the same hath beene by them not onely restrained from executing his sayd Office, but allso denied his libertie in this Towne by reason whereof there is great detriment for want of one to supplie the sayd place, and the sayd Thomas Weldon having had severall times given him by this Companie to make his peace; w^{ch} thinge this daye appearinge not to be ffeazable—Therefore the sayd Companie on ffull debate of the buissines, doe hereby revoke theire former act of choosinge the s^d Thomas Weldon to be Mace bearer, and do hereby discharge him of his sayd Office, and doe declare the sayd place hereby voyd.”*

Then they proceeded to elect Mr. William Mawson to the office of mace-bearer, which he was “to enjoy with all the usual and due rights belonging to the same during the good pleasure of this Company and their successors,” after which he took the oaths of office.

On the preceding 13th of March, the town clerk, Edward Palmer, as a royalist, had been discharged from his office in a similar manner “for offences to the Government and Committee,” but he was afterwards (in 1658) restored, in obedience to a writ of the Lord Protector. Whilst at a meeting of the mayor and his brethren, on the 14th February, 1648, it was unanimously agreed and ordered that William Palmer, for divers misdemeanours and great abuses proved against him, should be dismissed from his place as sergeant-at-mace and attorney in the Court of Record for this Borough; and at the same time Thomas Godeby, cordwayner, was elected one of the “Sergeants of y^e Mace” and an attorney in the town court during pleasure, and he was sworn in accordingly.

It may be mentioned here, in passing, that although neither the mace nor any other token of respect was displayed at his coming, the unfortunate King Charles the First, when in the charge of the Commissioners of Parliament, slept in Leicester, on the night of the 14th January, 1647, on his way to Holmby

* Hall Book, p. 590.

House,* and that Cromwell was in Leicester on several occasions about this period, when he was visited by the mayor and his brethren. The Town Accounts for 1651 record that six gallons of wine and a banquet (or dessert) were "presented to the Lord General Cromwell when he went to Worcester," where, on the 3rd of September, he gained his "crowning victory."

The new mace not proving entirely satisfactory, it was enlarged two years later.† Still even then it was not considered to be sufficiently worthy of the town in the eyes of our Puritan forefathers, and accordingly we find particulars in the accounts for the year 1649-50 of the purchase of a much more costly one, and these entries are especially interesting as serving to connect the Leicester of two centuries ago with the present day. They are as follow :—

"Item, paid to John Turvile, for the new Mace, waighing 87 ounces and 12 dwts., besides screws, and pins, and staffe, 11s. p. oz., more

* In noticing the visit of this unhappy monarch to Leicester on the 22nd July, 1641, we ventured to express a doubt of the accuracy of Clarendon's description of the "great expressions of duty and loyalty, and the full acclamations of the people," with which, he states, the king was received here. This supposition as to the real feelings of the townspeople toward the King has, since the completion of this paper, received positive confirmation by the following entry in the catalogue of the late Mr. J. Camden Hotten's Collection of Civil War Tracts, &c., now in course of dispersion by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson:—

"No. 682. Charles I. at Leicester, a petition from the Towne and County of Leicester, unto the King's most excellent Majesty; also another for Removing the Magazine of the County.—*Interesting Leicestershire Tracts*, 4to. *At the sign of the Axe*, 1642."

"*This curious piece, sold at a house with an unpleasantly suggestive title gives a refutation to the statement made by Clarendon, that in Leicester 'he was received with great expressions of duty and loyalty.'*"

† "Item, paid to John Turvile for makeing the Seale and enlarging the Mace vj^{li}. x^s."

"Chamberlaines' Account," 1647-8.

than were made of the old Mace, as appears by
bill xxxiiij^{li}. xvij^s. vj^d.

"Item, paid to John Turvile, for carriage of
the Mace and his charges to London, and paines
and care taken about the makinge of the Newe
Mace, by order of the Commissioners ...

iiij^{li}. vj^s. viij^d.

This was the identical mace, altered only as to the arms engraved upon it, which continued as the symbol of the mayoralty down to the year 1836, which was then sold by auction, and which, after thirty years' wanderings, was a few years since recovered, and is now restored to its former use.

The first occurrence out of the ordinary routine in which the new mace was made to bear a prominent part, was the hitherto unrecorded event of the chief magistrate of the borough dying during his mayoralty.

This was Mr. Samuel Wanley, who had only been elected to the office two months previously, and the records of the town affording no precedent as to the course to be pursued in such a contingency, the corporation were placed in a state of considerable embarrassment.

The minutes of their proceedings under these circumstances are so highly curious, especially as illustrating the history of the great mace, that they are here given verbatim as they appear in the Hall Book (p. 713) :—

"Memorandum—that uppon Wednesday, the 17th day of November, 1658, Mr. Samuel Wanley, Mayor, dyed.

"Thursday, the 18th of November.

"This day divers of the Ancients that had been Mayors mett att the Guild Hall, to advise what was fitt to bee done as to the Eleccion of a new Mayor, and how things should bee carryed on in the meane time, and agreed that Mr. Richard Ludlam, being the senior Justice, should bee in the nature of a Deputy Mayor until the Eleccion of a new one, *and should have the Mace carryed after him, lying upon the Mace-bearer's arme.*

"They also agreed to have an Eleccion of a Mayor on Munday followinge, and Mr. Ludlam cōmanded the Mace bearer to give sumōns to both Companyes accordingly for that purpose.

" Friday, the 19th of November.

" Both Companies appearinge att the funerall accordinge to invitation, the ffunerall proceeded thus :—

" The Two Sergeants att Mace, having their Maces covered with blacke Tiffany, went before the Corpes, Mrs. Wanley being led by her Sonne, and attended by the Town Clerk ; and divers Mourners followed the Corps, and after them the Aldermen, Gentry, and the Forty-Eight.

" The body being interred, Mrs. Wanley, attended as before, returned into the Maioress her seate, it being hung with mourninge, and the greate Mace was carried into, and laid downe in the Mayor's Seate, it being likewise hung with mourninge ; Mr. Ludlam sitting alone in the next seate to it ; and the Sermon beinge ended, was carried *after* Mr. Ludlam to his house and lodged there, and Mrs. Wanley returned to her house attended as before.

" Saturday the 20th of November.

" Mr. Ludlam went to Gainsborow, and continued there that afternoone (hearing complaints), the Mace beinge carryed *after him*, goinge and returninge.

" The Lord's Day, beinge the 21st day of November.

" Mr. Ludlam went to the Church, attended by the Mace Bearer, where he sat as on ffriday before, the Mace lying as before. Mrs. Wanley attended by the Town Clerk and Mourners, went to Church and satt in the Mayoress[s]' seate, it still continuing covered with blacke."

On the following day Mr. William Franke was elected " by ticket " to be Mayor for the remainder of the term.

After the restoration of Charles the Second it became necessary that the royal arms should replace those of the Commonwealth on the mace as elsewhere, for in the year in which it was purchased numerous charges occur for taking down or painting out the king's arms, and for setting up the " states' arms " on the mayor's seat, the four gates of the town, and other places, all of which was now to be reversed.

For this purpose the mace was placed in the hands of a local goldsmith, and, as appears by the account for the year 1659-60 there was —

"Paid to Mr. John Turvile, in full, for alteringe the Great Mace, and for the four silver Maces, by order of a Common Hall } xlvth. "

At the same period a deputation consisting of the mayor, three aldermen, and one of the chamberlains went to London to present to his Majesty £300 in gold, in a satin purse, embroidered "Leicester" on both sides, which doubtless the "merry monarch" would (as when in Leicester in his youthful days the corporation presented him with £50) accept "very graciously," and on this occasion the newly decorated great mace (in company perhaps with the four "lesser maces," now newly replaced) doubtless made its appearance in the presence chamber of the king. Several royal visitors came to Leicester after the Restoration, among whom were the Duke of York (afterwards James the Second) and his Duchess; the Princess (afterwards Queen) Anne; William the Third; and Christian the Seventh, King of Denmark and Norway; but the manner of reception on such occasions has been already so fully described that they may only be alluded to in passing.

There was, however, one custom, existing from time immemorial, which must not be passed over unnoticed.

Although prior to the Norman Conquest the citizens of Leicester enjoyed the liberty of self-government, and possessed their merchant-guild and other local privileges, by that event they became the vassals of their Norman earls, and had, from time to time, to purchase in hard cash charters from them for many of the privileges which we now enjoy. Thus first the Norman, and after them the Lancastrian Earls of Leicester became each in turn the "liege lord" of the townspeople, and hence originated the custom, which has doubtless existed from the Conquest to the present day, for every mayor of Leicester after his election to attend at the castle to do homage and swear fealty to the earl, either in the presence of the earl himself, or of his representative.

Since the death of our last resident earl, John of Gaunt, and the accession of his son to the throne as Henry the Fourth, the castle of Leicester (although little more of it than the

great Norman hall now remains) is still a royal castle, and is held by a "seneschall," or constable, appointed by patent from the sovereign under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, and the mayor still has to attend a Duchy Court opened at the castle, and presided over by the constable, or more usually by the deputy constable. In the Corporation Charter of King James it is expressed that on Monday after Martinmas-day the newly-elected mayor shall attend at the great hall of the castle, and take an oath "before our Seneschall, that he shall perform well and faithfully all and every ancient custom, jurisdiction, privilege, and pre-eminence of the duchy of Lancaster, within the borough of Leicester, being a part or parcel of the ancient duchy of Lancaster, according to the best of his knowledge."* From ancient times it was customary for the mayor to go in state on these occasions, having the mace carried before him over the shoulder of the mace-bearer until he entered the gateway opening into the castle yard, when the mace had to be lowered, and to be kept "sloped" so long as it remained within the precincts of the royal domain.

This compulsory lowering of the mace had long been a thorn in the side of the municipal rulers, who looked upon it as a humiliation, and it had thus been often the cause of contention between the two sets of officials,—those of the borough endeavouring to evade the requirement, and those of the castle stringently enforcing this ancient act of homage to the feudal lord.

On one occasion this seems to have been enforced beyond its usual if not its strictly legal limit.

The church of St. Mary de Castro, as its name denotes, stands within the precincts of the castle, and it is an ancient custom for the mayor and corporation of the town to attend in state divine service therein on Trinity Sunday, when after the annual sermon collections are made for the poor inmates of the old hospital founded by Henry, Earl (and subsequently Duke) of Lancaster in 1361 (and of which the

*Throsby's "History of Leicester," p. 163.

mayor is *ex officio* master), on which occasion the church is decorated with flowers, a custom originating in a curious charter or grant of land from John of Gaunt. They also attended there at other times, the chancel belonging to them as the lay impropiators of the great tithes ; and it was on one of these occasions that the circumstance referred to occurred, and which will be best described by the following minute in the Hall Book,* under date of October 8th, 1678 :—

“Whereas Henry Dyson, gen., did upon Sunday last, being the sixth day of this instant October, stop Mr. Mayor as he was going to hear divine service at his Parish Church of St. Mary in Leicester, and caused the sergeants and mace-bearer (after an unusual manner), to sloop their maces, and also when they came to y^e church door, and would not suffer the great mace to be sett up in the case where it usually did hang.† It is ordered at this Hall that if Mr. Dyson shall ever hereafter offer the like affront, Mr. Mayor shall consult with persons learned in the law, in what manner y^e Town may proceed to vindicate their Ancient Rights and Privileges.”

These disputes reached their culmination in the year 1766 in the mayoralty of Mr. John Fisher, when, on his going to take the oath, the mace not being “sloped” as required, the constable of the castle, or his deputy, refused him admittance. This, says our local historian Throsby, was on the eve of an election, which was conducted with much party heat, and since this happened Mr. Mayor has gone in private to the castle, without ceremony, to comply with the requisition of the charter.‡

There was one other very curious custom, in which the town maces and the other corporate insignia were, from time immemorial, regularly displayed, and which we must not omit to notice before finally taking leave of this part of the

* Page 853.

† In the account for 1649—50 is entered a payment to “Thomas Carter for mending the place for the new mace at St. Mary’s Church and Town Hall.”

‡ “History of Leicester,” p. 163.

subject. This was the annual mock-hunting of the hare on Easter Monday.

On that day the mayor and "red-gown aldermen," in their scarlet robes, and the "black-gown aldermen" and the rest of the corporation in their black gowns, attended by the mace-bearers, with the great and lesser maces; and by the town waits, with their gold laced scarlet cloaks and their silver chains and badges; and accompanied, as guests, by many of the gentlemen of the county—one or other of whom lent his huntsman and pack of hounds for the occasion; assembled, about noon, on horseback in a field on the Dane Hills, near the town, known as *Black-Annis' Bower Close*, formerly parcel of Leicester Forest. About half an hour previously a dead cat, anointed with aniseed water, having been trailed at the tail of a horse over the grounds, in zigzag directions, the hounds were laid on the scent, and mayor and mace-bearers, aldermen and common councillors, county magnates and commonalty, all went helter-skelter across field and over hedge and ditch, until finally, following the trail of the dead cat through the streets of the town, they arrived at the hospitable doors of the Guildhall, where, by the mayor's invitation, the corporation and their guests ended the day's sport by a jovial feast, accompanied by the strains of the town waits.

Throsby * surmised that this custom originated out of a claim to the *royalty of the forest*, but that this opinion was erroneous, and that the formal ceremony of hunting in their state robes was probably adopted by the corporation as an assertion of their right of *free warren* in the forest, the *royalty* of which belonged to the ancient earldom and had merged in the Crown, "has, I think, been clearly shown in my Illustrations of the Drama, &c., in Leicester, † where the custom has been treated at length, and traces of which still exist in the annual popular fair or holiday still held on Easter Monday on the Dane Hills and the Fosse-road adjoining, although the

* "History of Leicester," p. 163.

† Pages 168—174.

hunting has fallen into disuse since about the end of the last century."

In reference to this custom there is a very amusing entry in the town account for 1671, which is as follows :—

"Item, paid to two-and-twenty men, *that brought and carried hares before Mr. Mayor and the Aldermen* by Mr. Mayor's order," as if these were veritable spoils of the chase on Easter Monday ; but the payment was disallowed by the auditors, who probably considered that this unusual expenditure was not necessary to support the dignity of his worship on the occasion.

Having now described the various events connected with the history of the successive town maces and other corporate insignia during past ages, so far as our local records enable us to do, we have arrived at the time when by a mistaken zeal the whole of the corporation insignia were scattered to the four winds of heaven, and it only remains to notice the fate which befell them on their dispersion, and the adventures, so to speak, of the great mace during its wanderings from its ancient repository, the Guildhall of Leicester.

A bitter feeling of dissatisfaction having long existed amongst the Whig and Radical parties in the town with the manner in which the Tory corporation—which was a self-elected, exclusive body—conducted their proceedings, the passing of the Municipal Corporations Reform Act in the year 1835 caused what was, to all intents and purposes, a revolution in the town, by taking the power out of the hands of its former possessors, and placing it in those of the opposite party.

It is not our purpose in this place to become either the apologist of those who went out of power, or to "set down aught in malice" against those who came in. Suffice it to say, that, as in all revolutions, a reaction to the opposite extreme set in, and whilst making a "clean sweep" of all connected with the feastings and jollities of former days at the public expense, by disposing by public auction of all such things, the new corporation proceeded also to sell the maces and

other ancient insignia *—an act which, but for the unwonted state of violent excitement which then existed in the town, it is only justice to believe they would never have perpetrated; and which was greatly to be deplored—the mace being really no party symbol (although they undoubtedly so regarded it),

* The newly elected municipal rulers of Leicester were not, however, by any means alone in pursuing this course, as I learned from several literary friends, when in the summer of 1866 a subscription was set on foot to repurchase the great mace, and to aid which movement I prepared for one of the local newspapers a brief sketch of its history. My late correspondent, Richard Sainthill, Esq., formerly “Common Speaker” of Cork (to whom as well as to his fellow-townsmen, the late John Lindsay, Esq., the learned numismatist, I have been indebted for many literary courtesies), wrote as follows :—“ ‘Forms’ carry much weight, and it is to be regretted that in England and Ireland, with the change of the Corporations (much required in both countries), the incoming parties too often considered *change* and *improvement* synonymous—‘Whatever was, was *wrong*.’ The Corporation of Cork had a Mayor and two Sheriffs—a splendid Mansion House for the Mayor—salary £1,200 a year The three personages had handsome and weighty gold chains for every day’s wear to mark their dignities, and for state occasions the Mayor had a magnificent gold enamelled chain—so like the collar of the Garter that Garter King-at-Arms, in England, would have ‘come down’ on the Corporation; and this collar is all that remains of the old pomp. The salary is reduced to £300 a year; the Mansion House is an hospital; and all the other insignia, maces, chains, sword of state, furniture, china, &c., &c., sold and dispersed to the four winds of heaven by the auctioneer’s hammer.”

Dr. Aquilla Smith, M.R.I.A., stated that “the reformed Corporation of Dublin was inclined to dispose of (or rather destroy) the municipal insignia, but public opinion prevailed, and the Gold Medal presented to the Lord Mayor of Dublin by King William the Third is still worn by the Lord Mayor.

“The Kettle-drums which had been played at the battle of the Boyne were preserved at Drogheda, until the reformed Corporation came into power, since which time all trace of the drums has been lost.”

The late Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A., who had in his possession one of the four maces that had belonged to the Corporation of Chichester, and which were sold about 1835, wrote : “You do not mention for which officials the four lesser maces were designed, and I conclude that they were appropriated to the Chamberlains or carried before them. I usually find four small maces as part of early municipal insignia, and they appear to have

as we have seen that this identical mace was the one purchased at the town's expense by the Puritan corporation in the time of the Commonwealth. The popular tradition, however, was that it was the gift of Queen Elizabeth—a tradition for which there was not a particle of foundation.

Catalogues of the sale are now very rare; the writer, however, is fortunate enough to possess a copy given to him several years ago by the auctioneer, containing the whole of the purchasers' names, and the prices at which the various articles were sold.

The sale commenced at the Guildhall on the 27th January, 1836, and continued for six days subsequently. A large collection of silver plate, some of it ancient and curious, was disposed of—it having been the custom for every mayor, during his year of office, to add by gift to the collection.

Amongst the more curious articles were a very large antique cup and cover,* presented by Sir Nathan Wright, Recorder of Leicester, in 1680, and afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; a curious tobacco-box, presented by George Bent, Esq.,

been carried by sergeants, one for the mayor, but I imagine that there was no uniform practice."

[I cannot learn that at Leicester any other official than the mayor had a mace appropriated to him, although I have been told that the handsome mace now in Mr. G. H. Nevinson's possession has by some been designated as the "Recorder's Mace."]

And Sir Henry Dryden, in mentioning that "a silver oar given by Queen Elizabeth to Yarmouth or Lynn was sold," very truly remarked that "in the fanaticism attendant on the Reform Bill (and fanaticism attends all great changes) numbers of old cups, chains, maces, &c., were sold and so mostly destroyed. But *fashion* has been nearly as bad as fanaticism, and desire for 'improvement' has *improved* lots of valuable things into melting-pots."

It appears that in other towns also the new corporations sold the ancient insignia of the mayoralty.

* This cup—which was purchased at the sale for about 20 guineas by Mr. James Rawson, a leading member of the old corporation, a magistrate, and former mayor of the town—afterwards passed into the hands of Mr. Ellison, as soon after that gentleman acquired the great mace. These two relics were exhibited, and a paper descriptive of them read

the founder of Bent's Hospital, who was mayor in 1681 (which produced the large sum of £11 13s. 4d., being at the rate of £1 7s. 0d. per ounce), and a very large antique punch-bowl, the gift of James Wigley, Esq., of Scraftoft Hall, who represented the borough in Parliament from 1737 to 1765, and whose portrait hangs in the library at the town hall. There were also several fine tankards, two of which were "the gift of C. Chard," Esq., who, as we have seen, was mace-bearer from 1599 to 1605.

The three silver chains and badges of the waits (which, like their musical instruments, were made a manuscript addition to the printed catalogue) were sold to Mr. William Derbyshire, a local silversmith, for £5 14s.; one of which he afterwards presented to the town museum, where it may be seen, and of which an illustration is given on page 305.

The three small silver maces—two being of the time of Charles the Second, and one of George the Third—were sold

before the Society of Antiquaries, at Somerset House, by the late John Bruce, Esq., who afterwards evinced great interest in the restoration of the mace to the town. The cup is thus described by that late estimable and learned antiquary:—

"The other article exhibited on the table is a very handsome silver cup, long known as 'The Loving Cup of Leicester.' An inscription upon its cover accounts for its name, and another round the rim of the cup tells its history. The former is 'Honour the King. Love the Brotherhood.' The latter is 'The gift of Sr Nathan Wrighte, knight, serjeant at law, late Recorder of this Burrough. Anno Dom. 1699. Engraven in Mr. Samuel Woodland's Maioralty.' Sir Nathan Wright was the well-known Lord Keeper who held the seals intermediately between Lord Somers and Lord Cowper. He was Recorder of Leicester from 1680 to 1689. This cup was sold at the same time as the mace, but not to the same person.

"Whether the Corporation of Leicester was right or wrong in disposing of such articles, I am quite sure that, in this Society, there can be but one feeling towards the gentleman who, at a large expense, has rescued the mace from a custody inadequate to its dignity, and by his interference has placed both these articles beyond the reach of many of those chances which are daily fatal to so many memorials of our forefathers."

to Mr. Taylor, of Warwick, Mr. Houlden, and Mr. Dibbin, for £9, £6 15s., and £6 respectively. Lot 582, described as "Large Sergeant's Mace, the head washed with gold," and weighing 36 ozs. 4 dwts., was bought by Mr. Phillips, of the Fox Inn, for £16. This elegant mace, after passing through various hands in the interim (one of its possessors having been the late indefatigable antiquary, the Rev. John M. Gresley, of Overseal), is now the property of George H. Nevinson, Esq., of this town.

The chief attraction of the sale, however, was centred in the great or Mayor's mace, thus described in the catalogue:—"No. 583. Beautiful large Mace, washed with gold, 95 oz. 2 dws. knob and ferrule 4 oz. 18 dws., together 100 oz." This, after a spirited competition, amidst considerable excitement, and some laughter, was eventually knocked down for £85 to Mrs. Laughton, of the "George the Third" Inn, Wharf Street, an old lady well known for her staunch Tory principles.

After the relic had remained in her possession for a number of years, during which it had attracted many visitors, of all grades of society, from the peer to the peasant, and from learned antiquaries down to unlettered citizens, to view it; and had also led to several attempts on the part of housebreakers to steal the rich prize, the late venerable Rector of Belgrave, the Rev. Richard Stephens, B.D., negotiated its purchase for his friend Richard Ellison, Esq., of Sudbrook Park, near Lincoln, for the sum of £130. Colonel Ellison dying, bequeathed the mace to the Rev. Humphrey Waldo Sibthorpe, Rector of Washingborough, Lincolnshire; and at his decease, in 1865, it passed into the possession of his widow, a sister of the late Colonel Ellison.

About that period the desirability of again distinguishing the mayor by some outward and visible token of his office had gradually been manifesting itself in public opinion, and especially in the minds of some of those who had been mayor, and of other members of the town council, who had personally experienced the embarrassing position in which his worship was sometimes placed by the absence of it. For instance,

when the judges attended at the Guildhall to open the commission at the Assizes, they generally were under the necessity of having to ask the town clerk to point out the mayor from among the other magistrates present to receive them.

On the occasion of the state ceremony of the Queen laying the first stone of the Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences, the mayors of all the municipalities in the kingdom were invited to be present, and a place was set apart for them in the enclosure. The Mayor of Leicester, Thomas William Hodges, Esq. (who served that office most hospitably and most efficiently during the successive years 1865, 1866, and 1867), on presenting himself was refused admission by the doorkeeper, who stated that his instructions were to permit no one to enter who was not in official costume, whilst the other mayors who were properly distinguished by some badge of office had free entrance given them.

In the early part of the year 1866 a movement sprang up in the town to endeavour, if possible, to discover who was the possessor of the old mace, and to recover and restore it to its former municipal uses.

The successful result of these inquiries was in a great degree due to the exertions of Mr. Geo. H. Nevinson, already referred to as the possessor of the "Sergeant's Mace;" who, through the medium of Mrs. Waldo Sibthorpe's friends, the late Rev. R. Stephens, and the late John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., communicated with that lady on the subject; who, whilst declining to part with the mace *on any terms* for any other purpose, most liberally offered to restore it to the borough on the following conditions:—

1st. The repayment of £85, the sum for which it was sold in the year 1836.

2nd. The giving a receipt for the mace, signed by the Corporate authorities, containing an acknowledgment that the mace was received by the Corporation for use on proper Corporate occasions.

3rd. The carrying out of the arrangement within two months from the 1st of May.

A public meeting of the inhabitants was promptly held at the town hall on the 14th of that month, under the presidency of the mayor, which was attended by many members of the town council and others, of all political parties; when it was resolved, with the most perfect unanimity, to open a public subscription, limited to one guinea, for the re-purchase of the mace, in order to present it to the corporation. The requisite funds were quickly raised, and Mr. G. H. Nevinson and the writer were deputed on behalf of the subscribers to offer the mace to the corporation for acceptance on the conditions prescribed by Mrs. Sibthorpe as to its "being used on all proper Corporate occasions;" which was formally done at a quarterly meeting of the town council on the 26th June following.

A resolution for the acquisition of the mace on the prescribed terms was carried by a large majority, but not without a long discussion and violent opposition on the part of the small minority, consisting chiefly of a section of the most "advanced Liberals."

At a subsequent meeting, on the 28th of August, 1866, the mace having arrived in the interim, it was brought into the council-chamber during the business by the borough surveyor, E. L. Stephens, Esq., and, amidst loud and repeated cheering, once more, after an absence of upwards of thirty years, placed over the mayor, in the niche which had been the place of deposit of it, and of preceding maces, since the days of Queen Elizabeth, in whose reign the mayor's seat was erected in the Guildhall.

It now only remains to record that on the 12th of February, 1867, the town council, in accordance with the recommendation of a committee, voted the sum of £200 for the purchase of a gold and enamelled chain, with a medallion having the town arms emblazoned upon it, for the use of the mayor on all public official occasions; and the first instance in which it was used is thus described in a local newspaper, the mace being at the time suspended over the judge:—

"*The Mayor's Chain.*—At the Assizes on Monday last (July 15th,

1867) the Mayor (T. W. Hodges, Esq.) occupied a seat at the right of Mr. Justice Byles, and wore the handsome gold chain which has recently been purchased by the Corporation. The members of the bar and the court generally appeared to view this emblem of authority with some interest, and at the close of the business the learned judge made a critical examination of the chain. Subsequently the Mayor entered the High Sheriff's carriage, and accompanied Mr. Justice Byles to the Judges' lodgings."

At the same time the town council decided that court dress, with the gold chain, should be deemed the official costume of the mayor on all state occasions.

Having now traced the history of the various insignia of the corporation of Leicester from an early period to the present day—so far, at least, as local archives enable us to do—we would in conclusion express a confident hope that the members of that body having, almost unanimously, concurred in the restoration of the "great mace" to its former place in the council-chamber, it may for centuries hence keep its position over an honourable, enlightened, and earnest body of men, more than ever united in promoting the good government and prosperity of the good old town, which has had an uninterrupted succession of mayors for more than six hundred years, and who for at least one-half that period (and we know not how much longer) have had a mace borne before them as symbolical of the dignity and authority of their honourable office.

APPENDIX.

CORPORATE EMBLEMS AND INSIGNIA IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

The following information on this subject is the result of certain inquiries addressed to the mayors of the various corporate cities and boroughs in England and Wales, for the purpose of being laid before the town council of the borough of Leicester in the year 1866, and which, it is thought, may be valuable if placed on record here, as affording particulars not otherwise readily attainable.

TOWN OR CITY.	<i>Qy.</i> —Have you a Mace or other corporation emblem? <i>Answer:</i>	<i>Qy.</i> —Do you as Mayor wear a Chain or other insignia of office? <i>Answer:</i>
Aberystwith ...	No	No
Abingdon ...	Elegant Mace	No
Andover ...	Two Maces (Ch. I.), also livery	A black silk Robe, trimmed with purple velvet
Arundel ...	Three Maces (two are ancient)	Scarlet Robes, and fur, &c., &c.
Ashton-under-Lyne	No	No
Banbury ...	Two Maces and Silver bowl, were sold, but likely to become again the property of the corporation	Council just decided upon Robes for the Mayor
Barnstaple ...	Two Maces	A Gown
Basingstoke ...	Two Maces	Chain and Robe
Bath ...	Two Silver gilt Maces	Chain and Badge
Beaumaris ...	Two Silver gilt Maces and Silver Oar	A Gold Chain
Beccles ...	Two Maces	No
Bedford ...	A Mace	Robes of office on state occasions
Berwick ...	Two Maces	A Gold Chain and arms
Beverley ...	One Silver gilt Mace and two small Silver Maces	A Gold Chain lately purchased by subscription, the old Silver Chain of office having been sold in 1832
Bewdley ...	A Mace	No

TOWN OR CITY.	<i>Qy.</i> :— Have you a Mace or other corporation emblem? <i>Answer :</i>	<i>Qy.</i> :— Do you as Mayor wear a Chain or other insignia of office? <i>Answer :</i>
Rideford	Maces	A Scarlet Gown
Birmingham	No	A Chain on public occasions
Blackburn	A Mace, two Halberds	Red Robe, trimmed with ermine
Blandford	A Mace	No
Bodmin	Two large Silver gilt Maces and two small Silver Maces (250 years old)	Black Cloth Gown, trimmed with Black Velvet, &c.
Bolton	A Mace	A Chain
Boston	No. (All sold in 1836.)	A Chain
Bradford	None	A Chain
Brecon	Two Maces and a Wand, four Aldermen's Gowns	Robe
Bridgenorth	Two Maces, a Staff, with borough arms and crown, two smaller staves, a white silk banner with borough arms	A Scarlet Robe, trimmed with sable fur
Bridport	Two ancient Maces (not used since 1835)	No
Bridgewater	Three Maces, two Tankards, and very ancient Salt-cellar (Saxon?)	A Robe, &c.
Bristol	A Mace	A Gold Chain and Robes
Brighton	A Mace, bearing date 1671	A Chain and Scarlet Robe, trimmed with fur
Buckingham	No	No
Burnley	Two Maces, two Staves, and Sword	Robe, Chain, and Badge
Bury St. Edmund's	No	Chain and Robe
Calne	No	No
Cambridge	Five Maces (old and good)	A Scarlet Gown
Carmarthen	A Mace	Robes
Carlisle	A Gold Mace and Sword, presented by James II.	Gold Chain and Badge
Cardiff	Two Maces and Uniform	No
Canterbury	A Mace and Sword, four small Silver Maces	Chain and Robe
Carnarvon	Two Maces and one Banner with town arms	Scarlet Robe and Chain
Chard	Two Staves	No

TOWN OR CITY.	<i>Qy.</i> :—Have you a Mace or other corporation emblem? <i>Answer:</i>	<i>Qy.</i> :—Do you as Mayor wear a Chain or other insignia of office? <i>Answer:</i>
Chesterfield ...	One Mace	No
Chester ...	Sword and Mace	Chain and Scarlet Robes
Chichester ...	A Mace	A Red Gown trimmed with fur
Chipping Norton ...	No (Mace sold in 1836)	No
Clitheroe ...	A Mace and silver-headed staves for Aldermen	Scarlet Cloak
Colchester ...	A Mace, four Batons, &c., &c.	A Chain, weighing 1 lb.
Congleton ...	A Mace	A White Wand
Coventry ...	One large and two small Maces	No
Dartmouth ...	Four Silver Maces	Red Gown trimmed with fur
Daventry ...	Mace	No
Deal ...	A Mace, seal of office	Black Gown
Denbigh ...	Two silver Maces (1676)	No
Derby ...	Mace (Charles II.)	A Chain
Devonport ...	A Mace	A Chain
Devizes ...	Three Maces, two carried before the Mayor and one before the Rector, and a Loving Cup carried by the Town Crier	Robes
Dewsbury ...	No	No
Doncaster ...	One large and two small Maces	A Chain
Dorchester ...	Two Maces, silver-headed Wand	A Cloth Gown
Dover ...	A Mace	No
Droitwich ...	A Mace	No
Dudley ...	A Mace	No
Dunstable ...	A Mace and a large gilt key	A Scarlet Robe
Durham ...	The Mace has been stolen	An Alderman's Gown
Evesham ...	Two Maces and Silver Cup	A Silk Robe
Exeter ...	A Sword and four Maces	Scarlet Gown
Eye ...	A Mace	No
Falmouth ...	A Mace	

TOWN OR CITY.	Qy.:—Have you a Mace or other corporation emblem? <i>Answer:</i>	Qy.:—Do you as Mayor wear a Chain or other insignia of office? <i>Answer:</i>
Faversham ...	Two gilt Maces and some ancient ones	No
Flint ...	Silver Mace and corporation seal	Mayor provides his Gown
Folkestone ...	An ancient Horn, with corporate arms	A Gown, slightly different from the other Councillors
Gateshead ...	Very handsome Gold Collar	Robe of scarlet and black velvet
Gloucester ...	Sword and cap of maintenance	Scarlet Gown, trimmed with sable
Grantham ...	Two Maces	A Chain
Gravesend ...	Fine old Mace	Furred Gown
Grimsby ...	A Mace	A Chain
Guildford ...	Two Maces	Gold Chain and Medal, Scarlet Gown
Halifax ...	A Mace	Chain and Gown
Hanley ...	No	Gold Chain
Hartlepool ...	Two Maces and Cup	No
Harwich ...	A Mace	Official Robe
Hastings ...	Two handsome silver Maces	Gold Badge, presented by the present M.P.
Helston ...	Two silver-gilt Maces	No
Hertford ...	Very ancient silver-gilt Mace and Sword (Andrea Ferrara)	A Scarlet Gown
Hereford ...	Four Maces, two Swords, and Banner	A Scarlet Robe
High Wycombe ...	A very handsome Mace	No
Honiton ...	Mace, &c.	No
Hull ...	Mace and Sword	Gold Chain
Huntingdon ...	A Mace	Purple Robe lined with white silk
Hythe ...	Two Maces	No
Ipswich ...	Two Maces and Loving Cup	Scarlet Robe
Kendal ...	Two Maces, State Sword, and Seal	No (a Robe on any extraordinary occasion)
Kidderminster ...	A Loving Cup	Scarlet Robe, Ring, and Seal
Kingston-on-Thames ...	A Mace	A Robe
Launceston ...	Two Maces	A Gown
Leeds ...	A Mace	A Chain and Robe

TOWN OR CITY.	<i>Qy. :—Have you a Mace or other corporation emblem? Answer :</i>	<i>Qy. :—Do you as Mayor wear a Chain or other insignia of office? Answer :</i>
Leominster ...	Two Maces, used every Sunday	No
Lichfield ...	Two gilt Maces, also Livery	Black Gown, trimmed with velvet
Lincoln ...	A Mace, &c.	A Chain
Liskeard ..	Two very large silver Maces, silver Tankards, Salvers, &c.	
Liverpool ..	Two Maces, one Oar, and a Sword	A Robe and Cocked Hat
Longton ...	No	No
London ...	Sword and Maces, cap of maintenance, &c.	Gold Chain, Collar, Jewels
Louth ...	Corporation Banners, given by the present Mayor	No
Ludlow ...	Three Maces	A Scarlet Robe
Lymington ...	A Mace	No
Lynn ...	Four Maces and Sword, livery for bearers	Silk and Velvet Gown
Macclesfield ...	A Mace	No
Maidstone ...	Two Maces	Chain and Badge
Maidenhead ...	A Mace	No
Maldon ...	A very handsome Mace	A Chain
Malvern Wells ...	A handsome silver Mace	No
Manchester ...	No	Chain and Badge
Margate ...	A silver Mace, presented by Sir George Bowyer, M.P.	A Scarlet Robe, trimmed with sable
Middlesborough ...	No	No
Monmouth ...	Two Maces	No
Morpeth ...	A Mace (200 years old)	Gold Chain and Badge
Neath ...	Two silver gilt Maces (1703)	No
Newark ...	Two Maces, the bearers wear Robes and Chains	Chain, Black Cloth Robe, trimmed with velvet, and Staff
Newcastle-under-Lyne	Two Maces and White Wand	Gold Chain
Newport, Monmouth	One Mace	No

TOWN OR CITY.	Qy. :- Have you a Mace or other corporation emblem? <i>Answer :</i>	Qy. :- Do you as Mayor wear a Chain or other insignia of office? <i>Answer :</i>
Newport, Is. of Wight	Two Maces and Seals	Scarlet Gown, Gold Chain and Badge
Newbury ...	Mace	Gown, trimmed with sable
Newcastle-on-Tyne...	Sword, Mace, and Uniform	Chain, Medallion, and Scarlet Gown
Norwich ...	Three Maces and two silver-headed Staves	Chain and Corporation Plate (Queen Elizabeth)
Northampton ...	Two Maces, Livery and Staves	Chain and Robe
Nottingham ...	Mace and two Sheriffs' Staves	Chain and Robes
Oldham ...	No	No
Oswestry ...	Two Maces	Furred Scarlet Cloak
Oxford ...	Mace (similar to that in the House of Commons, presented by Charles II.)	No
Penance ...	Two Maces	At present in consideration
Penryn ...	Two silver gilt Maces	Elegant Silk Robe
Pembroke ...	Two Maces (1632) and Seal	No
Plymouth ...	Three Maces	Cloak and Chain
Poole ...	Two large Maces, one silver Oar, and three Seals of office	Gown
Pontefract ...	Mace	Chain
Portsmouth ...	Silver gilt Mace (Charles II.)	Gold Chain and Insignia
Preston ...	Three Maces and Robes for bearers	Robe and Staff of Office
Pwllheli ...	Mace	No
Reading ...	Mace and Seal	Furred Gown, also Chain
Reigate ...	Have no funds, but would gladly have insignia if presented	No
Retford ...	Large and small Mace	Robes and Chain
Ripon ...	Mace, Belt, and very ancient Horn (said to be Saxon), worn by Sergeant at Mace	White Wand
Richmond (Yorkshire)	Two Maces, two Halberds, Flag and Uniform,	No
Rochdale ...	No	No
Rochester ...	Two Maces and Oar of Silver	No

TOWN OR CITY.	Qy.:—Have you a Mace or other corporation emblem? <i>Answer:</i>	Qy.:—Do you as Mayor wear a Chain or other insignia of office? <i>Answer:</i>
Romsey	Two Maces	A Chain, with Coat of Arms
Rye	Two ancient Gold Maces, valued at £500	A Robe
Saffron Walden	Three Maces	Gold Chain and Locket, Red Robe and Beaver Hat
Salisbury	Three Maces	Gold Chain and Locket, Red Robe and Beaver Hat
Salford	No	Badge and Chain, bought about six years ago, cost £300
Sandwich	Several Maces	Gown
Scarborough	Mace	Chain
Shaftesbury	Two Maces (very ancient)	No
Sheffield	No	Chain and Badge
Shrewsbury	Several Maces	Very splendid Collar
South Molton	Three Maces	Gown and Chain
Southampton	Maces and a silver Oar Seal	Chain
South Shields	Seal	Gold Chain, presented some years ago by the Ladies, and a Scarlet Robe
Southwold	Two silver Maces	No
Stamford	One very large Mace and one smaller	Chain and Gown
Stafford	Mace	White Wand, with silver top (an acorn)
Stalybridge	No	No
Stockton	Mace and Wand	Silk Gowns for Mayor and Aldermen
Stockport	Seal	Chain
St. Alban's	Silver gilt Mace	Scarlet Gown
St. Ives	Mace, Livery, gold Goblet, and silver Seal (200 years old)	Cloak of Office
Stratford-on-Avon	Two Maces for the hand and two for the shoulder	Blue Decorated Robe
Sudbury	Mace	Gown (but neither are used)
Sunderland	No	Chain
Swansea	Four Maces	Scarlet Cloak

TOWN OR CITY.	Qy. :- Have you a Mace, or other corporation emblem? Answer:	Qy. :- Do you as Mayor wear a Chain or other insignia of office? Answer:
Talbach ..	The old Mace retained by one of the old corporation. A new Mace will be procured	No
Tamworth ..	Two Maces	Robes same as Aldermen
Tenby ..	Two silver Maces (early 17th century work)	No (a scarlet gown was used by my predecessor, was in use twenty years ago)
Tenterden ..	Two Maces	No
Tewkesbury ..	Two Maces, Livery, and Cocked Hats	No
Thetford ..	Mace, Sword, Cup, &c.	No
Thiverton ..	Two Maces and Beadle's Staff with Borough Seal	Gown
Torrington ..	Two Maces, Cocked Hats and Gowns for Town Sergeants and Bailiffs	Red Gown, trimmed with black velvet
Totness ..	Two Maces and Loving Cup	Scarlet Robe, blue velvet facings
Truro ..	Two silver Maces	Black Gown
Tynemouth ..	No	Chain and Badge
Wakesfield ..	No	Robe and Chain
Walsall ..	Two Maces (Charles II.)	Gown
Wallingford ..	Mace	Chain
Warwick ..	Mace	No
Warrington ..	No	Robe
Wells ..	Two silver gilt Maces (Charles II.)	Chain
Welshpool ..	Two Maces	No
Wenlock ..	Ancient Mace	Scarlet Cloak, lined with fur
Weymouth ..	Two Maces	Gold Chain
Wigan ..	Mace, Sword, and Halberds	No
Windsor ..	A Mace	Gold Chain, presented by Geo. III.
Wisbeach ..	No	No
Winchester ..	Four Maces	No
Wolverhampton ..	Mace (very handsome)	The Mayor and Council wear Robes
Worcester ..	Four Maces and Sword	Robe and Chain

TOWN OR CITY.	<i>Qy.</i> —Have you a Mace or other corporation emblem? <i>Answer:</i>	<i>Qy.</i> —Do you as Mayor, wear a Chain or other insignia of office? <i>Answer:</i>
Wrexham	Mace	Robes
Yarmouth	Two Maces, Sword, and Admiralty Oar	Chain
Yeovil	Mace	No
York	Sword, Mace, and Cap of Maintenance	Mayor and Mayoress's Chains and Gown

It will be observed that in almost every instance where "No" appears in the returns the places are of recent incorporation. It may be mentioned that in several towns the heads of the Maces are described as unscrewing and forming "Loving Cups," which are used at Corporation banquets.

A paper on "The Corporate Maces, &c., of Cheshire and the adjoining district," by my friend Thos. Hughes, Esq., F.S.A., and a subsequent one "On the Congleton Borough Mace," contain much curious and interesting information. It appears that in the year 1854 Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., on searching the strong-room of the town hall at Liverpool, found stowed away there and utterly forgotten three venerable maces—the two small ones of copper, and a large one of silver, richly gilt, "the Gyft of Charles Derby," ancestor collaterally of the present Earl of Derby, and Mayor of Liverpool in 1666. It also appears that the state sword of the corporation of Chester was presented by Richard II., and that the mace bears this inscription, "A guifte to the Citye of Chester, by Charles, Earl of Derbye, Lord of Man and the Isles, Maior, 1668." The Borough of Holt (which does not appear in the above list) possesses two maces: the great mace is a handsome specimen, and the small mace or sceptre, which is only twenty inches long, is inscribed "D. Speede, Maior,"—"probably," says Mr. Hughes, "a blood relation to the great historian of that name, who was born only a few hundred yards away, on the Cheshire side of the river."

